6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe El
Soviet Union Ri

S.U.
697

chosen by lot. Then at the appointed hour in the night they pounce on their victim and hack him to pieces in a bestial fashion.

E
699
466

Such is the situation in Russia. There are also concentration camps in the satellite countries, called in Communist language "People's Democracies." It has been estimated that more than 1,000,000 persons have been sent to such camps, and the number may be far greater. Not included in this figure, for example, are Eastern Germany and the former Baltic States. The existence of concentration camps has been widely advertised, and decrees establishing them are on the statute books of all the People's Democracies. The decrees merely apply to the country in question the provisions of Article 59 of the Criminal Code of U.S.S.R. The first Article of the Criminal Code of Rumania, for example, as reported by Albert K. Herling, reads as follows:

177.
69
671
687

> Criminal law has for its purpose defending the Rumanian People's Republic and its legal order against actions dangerous to society by enforcing legal measures of social defense against persons who commit such actions. In the meaning of the preceding paragraph any action and omission that brings harm to the economic, social and polftical structure, or to the security of the Rumanian People's Republic, or which disturbs the legal order established by the people under the leadership of the working class is to be considered dangerous to society. The actions which are considered dangerous for society can be punished even when they are not expressly prohibited by law. In such cases the extent and limit of criminal responsibility is to be determined in accordance with the legal provisions in force for similar crimes.*

E.
466
699

The number of camps in the area reported by persons who assert that they were present in them is so vast that the names by

* Statement issued on June 18, 1952, in behalf of the International League for the Rights of Man.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Czechoslovakia EBI

659 people was called on relentlessly. It was not merely that the
793 press and the radio ridiculed belief and practice incessantly
798 and without rebuke. The faithful among the clergy were hunted
687 down one by one. The following typical report is cited from CTK, the Government News Service, of September 1, 1952:

> Josef Maršálek, Catholic Priest and teacher of religion in Velké-Meziříčí, confessed his illegal activities to the Senate of the District Court of Iglau. The accused was brought to trial because of the hatred he had shown towards the peace efforts of the progressive populations of the world, and because of his faithful service to the war efforts of the Imperialistic Powers and the Vatican. . . . Maršálek approved of imperialist aggression in Korea and spread the war propaganda contained in foreign broadcasts. In conversations with his pupils and in his religion classes he systematically spread hatred against the people's democracy and chief personalities of our state. . . . He also tried to hamper the constructive efforts of the workers, and forbade his pupils to cooperate with working brigades on Sundays and Holydays. By his subtly clever inventiveness he sullied our economic and cultural expansion effort. Indeed, the evidence indicates that this reactionary slave of the Vatican strictly forbade his pupils to see the progressive films. . . . The accused Josef Maršálek was condemned to fifteen years in jail and to financial penalties. All his property was confiscated. The Court also deprived him of his civil rights and exiled him from County Iglau forever.

687 Two months later, Czechoslovakia was the scene of the sensational trials of Rudolf Slánský and his associates in the government. And perhaps no document in the history of the unfortunate country is more harrowing than the following, translated from the official Communist newspaper, *Rudé Právo*, of November 25, 1952. It is addressed by the son of one of the doomed men, Ludwig Frejka, to his judge:

> Esteemed Comrade:
>
> I ask that there be inflicted on my father the heaviest penalty—the

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

even for a day, makes the culprit liable to six months' corrective labour—which means a cut of 25 per cent in his earnings during that time. It is symptomatic that a few months after the promulgation of this law a few women wrote a letter to *Izvestia* suggesting that domestic servants also be subject to this law. *Izvestia*, in its comment on this question (December 30th, 1940), although disagreeing with this suggestion, showed no astonishment as to its content in this period of the 'transition from Socialism to Communism'.

Not only are workers prohibited from calling strikes, but strikers are liable, according to law, to be sentenced to death for such an offence. (Item 14 of Article 58 of the Criminal Code. As capital punishment has now been abolished, twenty years penal servitude is given instead).*

The Russian model is now being copied in the 'People's Democracies'. This time it will not take so many years to reach perfection. Until 1928, strikes in Russia were legal and were conducted without police intervention, even though the bureaucratic rulers opposed them more and more as their power grew.†

The 'People's Democracies', however, from the beginning avoided the mistake of allowing strikes. Not one of the new Constitutions includes the right to strike. The explanation is simple, and was put in a nutshell by the spokesman of the Yugoslav Government when he was replying to a proposal to include 'freedom to strike' in the Constitution: 'Now when our

*The following article is the only item in the "Collection of Laws" which touches on or covers any cases that can be interpreted by the courts as strikes: "Counter revolutionary sabotage, i.e., knowingly *omitting to discharge a given duty* or discharging it with deliberate carelessness, with the specific object of weakening the authority of the government or the operation of the government machine, entails—deprivations of liberty for a period of not less than one year, and confiscation of property in whole or in part, provided that where there are aggravating circumstances of a particularly serious nature the penalty shall be increased to the supreme measure of social defence: death by shooting, with confiscation of property". (My emphasis—Y.G. Criminal Code, Article 58 (14), June 6, 1927, "Collection of Laws", No. 49, Article 330, Moscow, 1937, p. 31).

†In 1922-3 there were 500 strikes with 150,000 participants in 1925, 196 strikes with 37,600 participants; in 1926, 337 strikes with 43,200 participants; in 1927, 396 strikes with 25,400 participants. More than 90 per cent of the participants in these strikes were workers employed by the State. Not only were strikes allowed, but at that time the Bolshevik leaders insisted on the active support of Party members for strikes whenever the majority of the workers of an enterprise took this step. (See, for instance, the speeches of Lozovsky and Tomsky to the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, 1922).

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 E1 Europe E1

466 constitution fully guarantees the rights of the working class, such a proposal is outright reactionary and anti-national'. (20th January, 1946). In opposing strikes the Communist Party leaders showed themselves very willing to use the help of the bourgeois politicians, and these, on their side, did not hesitate to use the authority of the Communist Party leaders in opposing strikes. For instance, the Czechoslovak Minister of Justice, Dr. Drtina ('purged' in the coup of February, 1948) said on 17th March, 1947, about recent unofficial strikes: 'They were . . . in effect strikes against the Government and Premier Gottwald . . . What is more serious is the fact that these strikes against the legal order occurred after the Revolution. Therefore, they are of a terroristic and anarchic character'. (*East Europe*, 26th March, 1947). Of course, from the suppression of the 'anarchic' strikes, the real benefactors were not
● [687] Dr. Drtina and his friends, but Gottwald and his. In Rumania Decree No. 183 bans strikes, defining them as 'an economic offence'. Participation in strikes is punishable by imprisonment of 1 to 12 years and by fines of Lei 10,000 to 100,000. A member of the Communist Party of any of the Western countries, making use of the double thinking so common to him, will find it quite consistent to support the banning of strikes in Russia and the People's Democracies (except of course, Yugoslavia after 28 June, 1948—the day of the excommunication of Tito by the Cominform) and at the same time oppose any limitation of the right to strike in any enterprise owned by a democratically elected public body in his own country.

The first steps have also been taken to abolish the right of workers to change their place of work. On April 16th, 1948, a law was passed in Yugoslavia prohibiting any state employee from leaving his place of work without permission from a special government commission. On August 19th Sofia Radio reported that the Labour Directorate had decided that the workers 'have no longer the right to leave their working places without permission' of the factory administration. Permission to employ or to dismiss will be granted only in accordance with the needs of production. Workers who leave their employment without permission of the Labour Directorate must be sent back to their original jobs, in accordance with Cabinet Decree No. 7.

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

661 although the present Prime Minister is a member of this party, he is rarely mentioned in the Hungarian press and his name, István Dóbi, is hardly known to the people.

The peasant parties of Yugoslavia, which in the past were very strong, apparently exist officially even today, but none of them has a daily, weekly, or any other paper and none of them is represented in Parliament. Their last representative was Dragoljub Jovanović, whose record included years of imprisonment under King Alexander's dictatorship. He was a secretary of the People's Front and a Minister in Tito's Government. But how could Tito forgive him when he declared in Parliament: 'The Communists are wonderful. They liberated us from the King and the Church; it only remains for them to liberate us from the Communist Party'? He was immediately expelled from the Government, from the People's Front, from his own Serbian Peasant Party and from his position as a professor at the University of Belgrade. Thus he became the one-man opposition to the Government in Parliament. But Tito could not tolerate any dissentient voice and steps were taken to close his mouth. In February, 1947, he was beaten up and severely wounded by hooligans. (The Yugoslav press did not mention this incident). Immediately afterwards he was tried and sentenced to nine years' imprisonment.

The fate of Stalin's quislings in the sham peasant parties was often grim. Thus, for instance, Romulus Zăroni, Minister of Agriculture in the first Groza Government, and Moga and Belea, the people who had led the Ploughman's Front since its foundation in 1934 in South Transylvania, when it was a small organisation with genuine peasant suppport at least locally, were removed from any positions they held after Moscow found they had served their purpose. The two most prominent leaders of the Hungarian 'village explorers' (after the war renamed the National Peasant Party) were Imre Kovács and Péter Veres: the former resigned his post as General Secretary and succeeded in escaping abroad; the latter was driven out of public life.

687 625 The important part played by the Communist-controlled police in the liquidation of the peasant parties not only in Yugoslavia but also in the other 'People's Democracies' is clear from the following testimony of Peter Koev, an M.P. and a

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

close friend of Petkov's. As Koev himself was too weak after his 'interrogation' to read his own statement in Parliament, Petkov read it for him:

'I shall first describe to you how the interrogation at the Militia Prison was carried out, so that you may have an idea of how "confessions" are produced, and of how Communist charges are built up. You reach a state of utter physical and moral collapse. You become completely indifferent towards your own life and fate, and you long only for an end, any end, which will bring a reprieve from suffering. But the complete collapse comes only at the moment when you realize that you are defenceless, that there is no law and no authority to protect you, and that you are in the hands of your interrogators for ever. This is actually what they try to make you believe right from the very beginning.

'The procedure is different from the one we have known so far. Now they first explain your guilt and then they ask confessions to prove it. The methods to obtain the confessions are mainly three: physiological—hunger, thirst, and lack of sleep; physical—torture; psychological—hints that your family have been arrested, will be tortured, etc.

'But let me tell you exactly what happened to me. For two days after my arrest I was confined to a small dark cell and given no food whatever. On the third day I was taken to the office of the chief of the Department of State Security. There I met Ganev, the chief of the Department "A" and the militia inspector, Zeev. They told me that I had been found guilty of an act of sabotage—the burning of Russian cotton stocks at the port of Burgas, in 1945, and that I had also taken part in the organization of a planned *coup d'etat* against the Government by Generals Velchev and Stanchev. They told me that I was the link between General Velchev and General Stanchev. Then they read confessions written by several officers giving details of their own guilt as well as of my own "participation" in the conspiracy.

'Immediately after that I was sent back to my cell and was not bothered with any interrogations for twenty-one days. I was left to "ripen". The first method used to achieve this was hunger—I was given only a little bread and water every day On the twenty-second day, a Saturday, at eight o'clock in the

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

687 625 morning, I was taken up to the fourth floor for the second interrogation. It lasted without a break until eleven o'clock of the following Thursday morning. The interrogation went on, day and night, for twenty-four hours round the clock, without a stop, the interrogators themselves being changed every three hours. During all this time I was left standing, without any sleep, without any bread and, what is worse, without any water. I was handcuffed and I was not allowed to lean either on the wall or on the table. Every three hours the new interrogators asked the same identical questions, so that in the end I knew every question by heart. After the first twenty-four hours I did not feel any hunger. The lack of sleep makes your head feel hollow, and then it starts making funny noises. The interrogators insist that you repeat the same dates, the same names, the same hours, etc. On the fifth day I collapsed and was taken back to my cell, where I immediately fell asleep and slept for twelve hours.

'Waking up I thought the interrogation was over, but the same night, at eleven o'clock, they took me upstairs again into a bigger room. The Inspector Zeev, who was in charge of my interrogation said my obstinacy had obliged him to change his methods to something really tough. At his orders I was put on the floor. My hands were tied behind my back, and I was gagged. Then, for about two hours, I was beaten on the feet with a thick rubber whip. During the beating Inspector Zeev asked the same questions. The interrogations and the beatings were repeated four nights in succession. During the last night, besides many inspectors and militiamen, the Chief of the Sofia Militia, Veselin Georgiev, was also present. I was then thrown back into my cell, and I was not disturbed until 4th November, at half-past ten in the evening, when I was set free. After ninety days under arrest I was not asked any more questions, nor have I been given notice of any official charge against me.

(Signed) PETER KOEV.

Sofia, 29th November, 1946, National Assembly.'

(Michael Padev, *Dimitrov Wastes no Bullets*, London, 1948, pp. 93–4).

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

666 but votes openly'. The Communist Party followed this up by declaring that only reactionaries were ashamed of their policy and would vote secretly. At the polling booths a voter had to show his identification papers and state whether he wished to cast his ballot paper into the ballot boxes exposed to public view or into boxes in a secret booth. Even if he was bold enough to choose the latter course his ordeal was still not at an end. Two ballot papers, one with the government list of candidates *printed on both sides*, the other a blank slip, were issued to him, and after throwing one of them into the secret ballot box, he had to throw the discarded one into a waste paper basket more or less in full view of the election officers.

[687] If the elector wished to show his disapproval of the government not by voting against it—a path fraught with dangers—but simply by abstaining, he could do so only if he were prepared to pay the penalty the law demands of all who do not vote—imprisonment for a month and a fine of 10 thousand crowns (£50).

Even if the elector was bold enough to vote against the government list, what assurance had he that his vote would be counted, as the only people on the electoral commissions are those who support the official list? When there is only one list of candidates, and when voting is open and counting secret instead of the other way about, the official list cannot possibly lose. Indeed in all the general elections that have taken place since 1948 in the 'People's Democracies' there has not been a *single* case of an official candidate not being elected.

Indirect testimony to the faking of the elections is given by the following fact. In all the Constitutions of the 'People's Democracies', the electoral laws declare the right of a very small group of electors to put up a list of candidates, or a single candidate, if they wish. In Bulgaria every group of *ten* citizens is allowed to do so, in Yugoslavia every group of a hundred, and so on. But although this fine democratic law exists, and although it was stated that thousands voted against the Government (for example, in Bulgaria, in the elections of December, 1949, 109,983 blank or invalid votes were cast and in Yugoslavia in March, 1950, 613,125 voted against the Government) not one case is recorded of a group of ten or a hundred citizens putting up any candidate against the official one.

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

CHAPTER VII

'TITOISTS' BEFORE TITO

★

TITOISM expresses the struggle of a small nation led by its bureaucracy against oppression by the Great Russian bureaucracy. The Tito-Stalin conflict throws light not only on the Rajk-Stalin, Gomulka-Stalin or Kostov-Stalin conflicts, where the issue is the national oppression of the peoples of Stalin's new vassal states, but also on the national question in the U.S.S.R. herself. It is instructive to survey this little-known aspect of Russian policy.

The most numerous non-Russian people in the U.S.S.R. are the Ukrainians. Their national aspirations have constantly been suppressed by a series of purges. In 1930 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was dissolved and members of it arrested for 'national deviations'. In 1933, Skrypnik, the most prominent leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party and a member of its Central Committee and Political Bureau, committed suicide in order to avoid arrest. At the same time Kostubinsky, the Vice-President of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine (the Ukrainian Government), Kovnar, the Commissar of Agriculture, and a few score of high officials were shot as nationalists. To prevent further deviations, Postyshev was sent to Ukraine from Moscow in 1933 to reorganise the party and the state administration. He was given dictatorial powers. At the 12th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1933, he said: 'In Ukraine our leading Party members and Comrade Stalin himself are specially hated. The class enemy has been to a good school in this country and has learned how to struggle against Soviet rule. In Ukraine have settled the remnants of many counter-revolutionary parties and organizations. Kharkov has gradually become the centre of attraction for all sorts of nationalistic and other counter-revolutionary organizations. They have all been drawn to this centre and they have spread their webs all over the Ukraine, making use of our Party system for their own ends. You remember, Comrades,

7:Gluckstein S-4 (no date)1952 El Europe El

661 when twenty Secretaries of Party Regional Committees dared
182 to declare that it was impossible to fulfil the Harvest Plan'
• 687 (Nos. 15–21 of *Proletarian*, Kharkov, 1934, quoted by W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine*, Cambridge, 1940, p. 326). Postyshev expelled more than a quarter of the members of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Three years later he himself suffered a similar fate, being expelled and arrested. In his place came Kosior, from Moscow. He, in due course, was also arrested. In 1937, Lyubchenko, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, committed suicide in order to avoid arrest. The Commissars Petrovski and Eiche were liquidated.

Other republics have a similar history. In the Republic of White Russia, Goloded, who for ten years was Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, was in 1937 arrested as a Trotskyist. Some months later his successor as chairman, Cherviakov, committed suicide to avoid arrest He had been Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of White Russia (i.e., President of the Republic) for seventeen years.

In Tadjikistan, the Chairman of the Executive Committee was purged as a nationalist in 1934. His successor held the position for three years and then suffered a similar fate. Walter Padley, in his article 'Empire or Free Union?' in *Politics*, New York, Spring, 1948, gives the following list of some of the foremost people in the national republics who were purged in 1937:

Presidents	*Republic*
Cherviakov	White Russia
Rahkhimbayev	Tadjikistan
Arkupov	Karelian
Shotemur	Tadjikistan
Lordkipanide	Adjar
Dolgat	Daghestan
Kunz	Volga-German
Prime-Ministers	*Republic*
Goloded	White Russia
Mgalobishvili	Georgia
Khodjaev	Uzbekistan
Rakhinov	Tadjikistan
Bondarenko	Ukraine
Ovakabelashvili	Transcaucasia.

8: Black S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe El

somely large proportion of state funds was used for political competition. Taxes were high and the entire taxation system was geared to make the poor people pay for the political and economic program of the government or of the ruling classes. Planning was poor and administration far from efficient. Bohemia-Moravia had inherited from Austria a relatively competent administrative machinery, and Hungary's was organized along nineteenth-century lines. Administrative systems in former Russian and Turkish areas were a continuation of the previous imperial regimes, and were considered definitely the worst in Eastern Europe. Inefficiency and corruption mitigated somewhat the dictatorial character of these administrations. Bribery was customary and necessary on every level and affected the poor and the minorities. The problem of corruption was most serious in high official circles. Often the biggest fortunes were made in politics through embezzling discretionary funds that were left at the disposal of government members. Selling protective tariffs to industrialists in order to receive shares from foreign companies for concessions was a prevalent practice. Administrative officials were endowed with the nickname "bicyclists," which carried the implication that these officials trampled upon their subordinates and bowed before their bosses.

This attitude and the belief that the masses should support all projects of the ruling circles produced a harsh conflict of interests between the bourgeoisie, the mixed aristocratic and middle class, and the industrial workers and peasants. The fundamental conflict, however, was between the bureaucracy and the peasantry. The great differences in the cultural levels in many of the Eastern European countries made things worse. Different religious and ethnic groups and contrasting social standards contributed to regional hostilities and did nothing to facilitate the task of the administrators. The fault lay not alone with the rulers and administrators as is so often supposed by Western authors and statesmen. The people in